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ABSTRACT

A project examined a 25-year period of African Americans in adult education by accessing the archival holdings of these 3 major data centers: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Moorland-Spingarn Archives, and Hollis Burke Frissell Library. The study also examined the 1920-45 issues of The Journal of Negro History and The Journal of Negro Education. The socio-political context of the data was analyzed using a Black feminist theoretical framework. These three themes emerged from the data and were considered representative of the major issues found in adult education for African Americans: education for assimilation, education for cultural survival, and education for resistance. Other findings indicated the African American segregated society had an extensive understanding of adult education and viewed it as integral to the existence of their cultural group; most often, curricula were established locally and were context-specific; and participation was robust and adult education programs were popular with participants of all socioeconomic and educational level. (Contains 21 references, 17 endnotes, and 4 tables.) (Author/YLB)

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A Quarter Century of African Americans in Adult Education: An Unknown and Unheralded Presence

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This project examined a twenty-five year period of African Americans in Adult Education by accessing the archival holdings of three major data centers: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, the Moorland-Spingarn Archives, and the Hollis Burke Frissell Library. This study also examined the 1920-1945 issues of The Journal of Negro History and The Journal of Negro Education. The socio-political context of the data was analyzed using a Black feminist theoretical framework. Three themes emerged from the data and were seen to be representative of the major issues found in Adult Education for African Americans: education for assimilation, education for cultural survival, and education for resistance.

Many of the studies that I have conducted and the articles that I have written in my Adult Education career have been an extension of my search for myself and my African American people in the literature of Adult Education. This study continues that search to see the reflections of my people and to hear the voices of my ancestors.

The Issue/Problem

The involvement of African Americans in the annals of Adult Education in the United States has been one of consistency and commitment. Yet it has also been a presence that has remained virtually unknown to adult educators, practitioners, and students. The ties that African Americans have had to Adult Education and to education in general have been different from the relationship that the majority population has maintained. The educational history of African Americans in the United States has been primarily one of exclusion. For approximately three hundred years (1619-1868), in most of the United States, it was illegal or unacceptable to educate people of African ancestry. Primarily the critical mass of African Americans were enslaved in the southern United States. After the War Between the States, the federal government made a meager effort to educate the newly freed Black populace, which included many adults, through the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (Freedmen's Bureau). This effort, which occurred from 1864-1876, quickly disintegrated as the mood of the country changed and sympathy for the former slaves dissipated (Dubois, 1903/1953; Woodson, 1915).

While the efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau and groups like the American Missionary Association (AMA) and the Quakers were significant Post Reconstruction adult education efforts, the phase of the post-post Reconstruction remains one of the most vital and important times in the adult education movement of African Americans (Denton, 1993; Dubois, 1903/1953; Franklin, 1963). This era, 1920 through 1945, represents a quarter of a century when African Americans made meaningful and abundant strides in self-education and self-governance. The period of freedom prior to the 1920s was spent laboring towards economic survival and political autonomy. Researchers recognize the second decade of the 1900s as an important one for Blacks (Colin, 1989; Peterson, 1996; Sitkoff, 1978). It was in the early 1920s that the majority of historically Black colleges and universities were founded or moved from seminary training to general education institutions. During this period, institutions and groups like the Talented Tenth, the Universal Negro Improvement Association, Tuskegee University (through the Summer Institutes), sororities (Alpha Kappa Alpha and Delta Sigma Theta), fraternities (Omega Psi Phi and Alpha Phi Alpha), and the National Colored Women's Clubs were introducing programs to educate adults of African ancestry. Yet little research has been done on this specific time period in Adult Education.

Theoretical Framework and the Purpose of the Study

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To date three major texts are currently in print and use in Adult Education programs throughout the United States on African American Adult Education. *Freedom Road: Adult Education of African Americans* (Peterson, 1996), is an edited work, containing six chapters that briefly outline the lives and adult education endeavors of six prominent African Americans. The first publication by Neufeldt and McGee (1990), *Education of the African American Adult: An Historical Overview* is also an edited book, consisting of three sections exploring Black Adult Education from the 1700s through 1980. The book includes 13 chapters that give a sketched overview of specific adult education programs. *Education of the Black Adult in the United States: An Annotated Bibliography* (McGee & Neufeldt, 1985) contains 367 citations and a one-paragraph synopsis of each article and book cited. Adding to this small body of accessible literature on the history of the African American Adult Education movement are three unpublished dissertations on Marcus Garvey (Colin, 1989), Nannie Burroughs (Easter, 1992), and Alain Locke (Guy, 1993), three prominent adult educators.

These three texts and three dissertations comprise a sizeable bulk of the book offerings on African American Adult Education in the United States. Additionally, there are approximately one hundred journal articles that examine this subject (Neufeldt & McGee, 1990). This project adds to the knowledge base of Adult Education. It is my position that research in this area was needed not only because of the paucity of information currently available but because the unknown and essentially unrecorded efforts of this populace is a meaningful part of the American adult education story. Furthermore, the stories of struggle and self-governance inherent in the efforts of a group of learners and educators who developed and administered programs in an unaccepting environment speaks to the fundamental beliefs and democratic ideals of the contemporary adult education movement (Cunningham, 1996; Freire 2000). Finally, African Americans currently, and since the inception of the United States, represent the largest group of color in the United States (Hacker, 1992). Inclusion of more history from this group adds to the dimension of the exciting portrait of adult education by broadening the dialogue to include issues of power and access.

One major weakness of the existing data is that they are presented through the eyes of modern researchers, using their words and contemporary interpretations. While a certain amount of reinterpretation and revisionism is almost impossible to avoid, it is important for historical accuracy to let the women and men involved in the programs speak for themselves. Therefore, I used a theoretical framework based on Black feminist thought (Collins, 1989; hooks, 1989). Such a framework dictates that the context in which the program occurred be included in any programmatic description. Issues such as the gender, race, and class of the participants, educators, and sponsors were considered. More importantly, this researcher's theoretical framework requires that every attempt be made to present the programs through the words and voices of the directors, educators, and participants by using primary sources that could include program bulletins, curricula, letters, diaries, journals, and newspaper articles. This study attempted to analyze the data in two ways. First, I used program areas as ways to delineate or categorize the data. Second, I used chronological and thematic methods (based on political assessment) as a way of bringing order to the archival materials. The final decisions were made through consultation with the historians who served as the subject matter experts for this project.

Most of the existing research either chronicles the efforts of specific individuals or presents annotated bibliographies of adult education books, articles, or pamphlets from library catalogs. The purpose of this study was to examine, describe, and analyze one quarter of a century (1920-1945) of African American adult education programs. It is believed that this research broadens the existing literature on African Americans in Adult Education by examining primary sources in an effort to produce a comprehensive listing and description of adult education programs and writings that resulted from these educational efforts. This study endeavored to describe the programs by including mission statements, objectives, and activities. The study also examined the experiences of the participants, directors, educators, and sponsors of the programs. In addition, socio-cultural factors and sponsorship were explored.

Specific Questions the Study is Designed to Address

This study was designed to address six major questions:

1. What was the extent of organized adult education efforts among African Americans from 1920-1945?
2. What were the agendas of these programs?
3. Whose interests were served by the programs?
4. What curricula were used?

5. Who were the participants, educators, directors, and sponsors of these programs?
6. Why did they participate?

Data Collection and Analysis

The project involved the collection and analysis of data that described the adult education efforts conducted and carried out by African Americans. The study was divided into two parts. The first part involved analysis of two major journals: *The Journal of Negro Education* and *The Journal of Negro History*. The second part involved an archival search of major holdings relevant to the African American adult education experience.

Data Collection for Journal Searches

Specifically, this study documented many major educational efforts involving African Americans that were reported in the literature and major print media outlets. The suggested time parameters of the project included 1920 through 1945. This time period represents twenty-five years of tremendous adult education activity beginning with the Harlem Renaissance and concluding with the publication of the 1945 Summer Yearbook of *The Journal of Negro Education*, which was dedicated to the adult education efforts of African Americans.

Data collection procedures involved the survey of two major journals: *The Journal of Negro Education*, and *The Journal of Negro History*. The first journal has been published for a period of 66 years and the second journal has been published for 82 years. These periodicals are considered the premier and most thorough annals of Black education and culture in America.

The journal searches for *The Journal of Negro Education* and *The Journal of Negro History* involved a hand search of 200 issues. A preliminary survey of 232 issues of *The Journal of Negro Education*, 1932-1990, was conducted by this researcher as a master's project (Johnson-Bailey, 1991). This master's project has been cited in the work of noted adult education historian, Scipio A.J. Colin, III. The three-part master bibliography presents the data by chronology, category, and author. In addition, each relevant article was photocopied and a working source book of the articles exists for future researchers.

The journals were surveyed not only to mine the wealth of information contained in them but also in order to establish a research trail that indicates which possible programs and library holdings might be appropriate for future researchers. This phase of the project was completed at the researcher's work site, Ilah Dunlap Little Memorial Library, The University of Georgia.

Data Collection for the Archival Searches

The sites for archival data collection were the following institutions: New York Public Library's Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The Moorland-Spingarn Archives at Howard University, and the Hollis Burke Frissell Library at Tuskegee University in Tuskegee, Alabama. These locations were the main sites because an examination of the *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* suggests these sites as the most appropriate and abundant for information pertaining to the educational history of African Americans.

The Moorland-Spingarn Research Center is world renown as the most comprehensive repository of documents relevant to African Americans. The holdings are impressive in both scope and volume. The archive's collection consists of more than 175,000 bound volumes and more than 50,000 journals, periodicals and newspapers, and more than 17,000 feet of manuscripts and archival collections. In addition, the holdings also include over 100,000 prints, photographs, maps, and other graphically displayed items. Information provided by the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center is frequently used in exhibitions, documentaries, and news programming.

The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture is a national research library dedicated to preserving, collecting, and providing access to resources that document and described the experiences of people of the African Diaspora. The Center's collections, which consist of over 5 million items, has consistently won international acclaim since the archives opened in 1926. It serves as an international data repository, including art objects, audio and video tapes, books, manuscripts, motion picture films, newspapers, periodicals, photographs, prints, recorded music discs, and sheet music. The Center consists of five collection divisions: Art and Artifacts, General Research and Reference, Manuscripts Archives and Rare Books, Moving Image and Recorded Sound, and

Photographs and Prints. The Schomburg Center encourages research on the histories and culture of African Americans and interprets its collections through scholarly and cultural programs.

The Hollis Burke Frissell Library Collection has 310,000 volumes, which include bound journals, and more than 1,600 periodicals. This library is also a selective depository of the United States Government publications that consists of scientific documents, educational reports, and statistical summaries. The specific collections examined at each archival site are detailed in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Archival Holdings Analyzed

Moorland Spingarn Archives (Washington)	
Name of the Collection	**Dates Covered by the Collections**
Cook Family Collection	1827-1969
John W. Davis Papers	1905-1979
Jesse Edward Moorland	1790-1939
Alain Locke Papers	1898-1954
Ambrose Caliver	1915-1959
Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture (New York)	
Name of the Collection	**Dates Covered by the Collections**
John P. Davis Papers	1845-1972
W.E.B. DuBois	1912-1966
Charles R. Moton Papers	1850-1991
Phelps-Stokes Financial Papers	1909-1944
Images and Recorded Sound	1926-1945
Hollis Burke Frissell Library (Tuskegee)	
Name of the Collection	**Dates Covered by the Collections**
Southern Education Fund Papers	1882-1981
Moton Papers	1850-1991
Thesis and Dissertation Collection	1925-1945

Findings

Three major themes emerged from this archival study and from the analytical search of *The Journal of Negro Education* and *The Journal of Negro History*. The most readily observable and robust theme was *education for assimilation*. The second most frequently occurring theme was *education for cultural survival* and the third theme, which was infrequent, was *education for resistance*.

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The theme education for assimilation uses the term assimilation according to its sociological definition as defined by Banks (1997) and refers to an ethnic or racial group's efforts to relinquish its characteristics in favor of the characteristics and norm of the dominant group. The idea of America as a melting pot where all new immigrant groups are encouraged to conform to an ideal that resembles a British expatriate citizen has been popular in American culture since the early 1800s and was first expressed as a formal concept in *The Melting Pot*, a 1908 play by Zangwill. In this study, the concept of education for assimilation refers to the efforts of African Americans to use education as a means of reshaping African Americans out of their culture that celebrated communal knowledge and consensus and into Anglo-Protestant cultural norms that honor individualism and competition.

The topic is particularly relevant to the African American populace who are the focus of this study; Blacks who lived in the period of 1920-1945. African Americans were economically deprived due to their enslavement and the
subsequent legal sanctions of Jim Crow that kept them separate and unequal. Overall, the group embraced the American concept of assimilationist thinking as a means of gaining access to the American dream. Three generations removed from slavery, these people were attempting to prosper by integrating themselves into American life through the workplace. Based on the legalized segregation that governed American society, the workplace was the only area in which the minority group routinely encountered the dominant White citizenry. African Americans and Whites rarely mixed socially or in educational settings.

The second theme, education for cultural survival is akin to the ideals posited by Booker T. Washington and his Tuskegee Institute (Denton, 1993): work hard and prove your worth to White America and earn a valued place in society. Programs and educational curricula attributed to this theme would focus on technical and mechanical skills that were aimed at rendering a needed service. Primarily, the education would also be aimed at providing steady and essential employment. Consequently, its goal would be to provide an economic base that would uplift the race from poverty into a working class and a possible segregated middle-class status. The group would survive as a cultural entity. In addition, this encompasses maintaining the folk culture. Physical and spiritual survivals are also included under this theme.

The third and final theme, education for resistance, is closely associated with education for cultural survival, but differs in that it recognizes the value of the culture and gives credit to the contributions of African Americans as a viable and respectable group. Several means of resistance are evident in the data: avoid assimilation, safeguard physical harm to the group and to the individual, and work towards equity on the political and social levels. This theme is recurrent in the data and journal articles studied, and it is seen as the precursor to what became the modern Civil Rights Movement.

Analysis of the Journal Searches

The three themes of education for assimilation, education for cultural survival, and education for resistance were readily observed in the journal inspections. The most frequent theme was cultural survival. It is reasoned that since the journals examined were dedicated to reporting on the educational and cultural status of the race that this data is skewed in favor of education for cultural survival. However, the journal charts reflect education for cultural assimilation as the most robust of the themes observed in the journal searches. This occurred because a narrow criteria was used for the theme of cultural survival. If the broader interpretation for cultural survival had been used every article in *The Journal of Negro History* would have been categorized as cultural survival. Using a strict interpretation, only one facet of the four-part cultural survival theme was used in the article selection, that of literary data. Additionally, since the intended audience for the journals were educators and the educated African American populace, it is also assumed that this data, unlike the archival data, was not as representative of overall adult educational efforts among African Americans. Tables 2, 3, and 4 depict how the three themes occurred in the journals.

Analysis of the Archival Data Searches

Education for Assimilation

Education for Assimilation, the most constant of the themes to emerge from the data is self-explanatory and easily understood as a first line of defense to America's new citizens: we must be like the previous immigrant groups, we must fit in, and we must not be the White man's burden. Finding their way to better social skills and

better job skills through education was thought of as the trustworthiest way to make it in this land of opportunity. Putting one's nose to the grindstone had certainly been trumpeted as the way that other immigrant groups had progressed. Programs and curricula of the time included offerings on social etiquette, proper speech for formal and informal occasions, hygiene, homemaking, budgeting, and literacy.

Table 2. Education for Assimilation

Title	Journal	Date
Religious Education in Negro Colleges and Universities -- David Sims	Journal of Negro History	1920
The Contribution of the Negro to the Religious Life of America -- L.W. Kyles	Journal of Negro History	1926
The Present Status Higher Education of Negroes -- Fred McCuistion	Journal of Negro Education	1933
The Problem of the Negro in Higher Education -- Chas. H. Thompson	Journal of Negro Education	1933
Negro Higher Education and Professional Education --- R. Moton	Journal of Negro Education	1933
The Education of Negro Minister -- B.E. Mays	Journal of Negro Education	1933
The Needs of Negro Education in the United States -- Howard K. Beale	Journal of Negro Education	1934
The Need and Training of Negro Physicians -- H.A. Callis	Journal of Negro Education	1935
Reorganization & Redirection of Negro Education In Terms of Articulation and Integration -- Lanier O'Hara	Journal of Negro Education	1936
The American Problem of Rural Education -- Alethea Washington	Journal of Negro Education	1936
Reorganize the College to Discharge Its Social Function -- Buell Gallagher	Journal of Negro Education	1936
The Negro Home and the Health Education Program -- M. Bousfield	Journal of Negro Education	1937
The Occupational Preferences and Opportunities for Negro College Student -- Fitchett Horace	Journal of Negro Education	1938
The Participation of Negroes in the Federally-Aided Program of Civilian Vocational Rehabilitation -- Lemuel Penn	Journal of Negro Education	1938
Civilian Conservation Corps and the Education of the Negro -- Howard Oxley	Journal of Negro Education	1938
The Federal Program of Vocational Education in Negro Schools of Less Than College Grade -- Chas. Thompson	Journal of Negro Education	1938
Training Negroes for Occupational Opportunities -- Robert Weaver	Journal of Negro Education	1938
The Guidance and Placement of Negroes in the United States The Vocational Education Program -- Doxey Wilderson	Journal of Negro Education	1939
In-Service Teacher Training Facilities on North Carolina Negro Institutions -- Nelson Harris	Journal of Negro Education	1940
Social Democracy Through Vocational Education --Harold Punke	Journal of Negro Education	1940
Vocational Education and Guidance in the Negro Secondary School -- T. Edward Davis	Journal of Negro Education	1940
Training of Negroes for War Industries in World War II -- Herman Branson	Journal of Negro Education	1943
Negro Women's Opportunities for Training and Service in the Field of Dietetics	Journal of Negro Education	1943
Some Problems Affecting Industrial Education in Negro Colleges -- B A. Turner	Journal of Negro Education	1943
Adult Education for Negroes in Rural Areas: The Work of the Jeanes Teachers & Home & Farm Demonstration Agents--Jane McAllister	Journal of Negro Education	1943
Adult Education for Negroes in Settlement Houses -- Inabil Lindsay	Journal of Negro Education	1943
Adult Education Programs in Housing Projects with Negro Tenants -- Frank	Journal of Negro Education	1943

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Horne		
The Influence of Claflin College on Negro Family Life -- E. Horace Fitchett	Journal of Negro History	1944
Democratizing and Christianizing America in This Generation – Benjamin Mays	Journal of Negro Education	1945

It was a widely held belief that the Negro was a burden to the American White populace. In 1924, the Commission on Race Relations appointed during the Coolidge administration stated that, "The relations of Whites and Negroes in the United States is our most grave and perplexing domestic problem." It further expressed their belief that the answer to the problem lay in the hands of the "Negro":

> Solutions...are being brought about – as alone they could be brought about by a transformation in the point of view of the local white community towards the local colored community. But in each case this change has been based on a transformation in the colored community itself which warranted it.[1]

The issue of the African American was addressed by Coolidge in a 1924 correspondence in which he set forth the idea that the solution to the Negro problem lay in the Hampton-Tuskegee idea: "...to build up, by teaching Negroes to work better, live better and think better, that fundamental self-respect and character alone can win for any race the true and lasting respect of others." Coolidge, who was under pressure to address the "Negro problem" through legislation, wrote in an October 3, 1924 correspondence:

> General Armstrong originated at Hampton Institute, a philosophy of education which crystallizes some of the soundest thought and experience of that pioneer Americanism from which he sprung. It is the philosophy of "learning by doing." It recognizes that...the capacity to do small things honestly and well, grows the capacity to do bigger things better. It teaches that efficiency has moral value - that conscientious effort is a stepping stone not only to success but to character – that "as a man works so is he." It is the gospel of "lifting work into worship and showing faith by works"...Tuskegee Institute was founded by Booker T. Washington, General Armstrong's first great disciple, upon these same principles; and it is chiefly there and at Hampton and at certain government institutions, that the Armstrong methods have been proved and their results acclaimed...Today some would have us believe that we as a people can attain, by wishing or by passing laws or by joining movements, results which men never have achieved nor can achieve except through hard, intelligent labor. At this time particularly, therefore, we must reaffirm strongly and widely this principle that "as a man works so is he" that as the nation does so will it prosper.[2]

While Coolidge's letter was a private correspondence, feelings about the inadequacy of the new Black citizens and their responsibility for their status were openly expressed in print. Meritocracy was held out as the American ideal and it was stated repeatedly that if the Blacks did not succeed it was because they did not wish to succeed. A Young Man's Christian Association (YMCA) training bulletin gave directions to Blacks on how to succeed and implicitly chided them as lazy:

> Clear eyes indicate an alert, trained mind; a sound forceful body; clean thoughts and living - character. These coupled with steady, cheerful, persistent effort in his chosen work bring success to *any* man regardless of race or color.
>
> The "color discrimination" excuse for not achieving is outworn. Those who - forgetting color - catch the vision of accomplishment, dream of achievements - and press forward confidently, quietly, steadily, rarely fail to make their mark. HOW did DAVE MANSON become a $10,000 a year employee and stockholder of the Ohio Steel Company? Why was A. A. ALEXANDER of Des Moines awarded over white competitors a $250,000 engineering contract for the Iowa State University? How did JAMES PARSONS become chief chemist of the Duriron Company of Dayton, Ohio? HOW did DR. JULIAN LEWIS become Laboratory demonstrator of the Medical School of the University of Chicago? HOW did GEORGE W. CARVER rise to such distinction in the field of scientific agriculture that the U. S. Government prints and distributes many of his lectures?
>
> HOW did WATT TERRY, a former "Y" janitor, make millions in real estate so that he is now a chief supporter of the "Y" in which he was janitor? *All of these were colored men who overcame the handicap of race. How did they do it? The answer is the same for all- CHARACTER and EFFICIENCY*
>
> DON'T PITY YOURSELF because you are colored. LET THE "Y" SHOW YOU HOW TO TURN EVERY HANDICAP INTO AN ASSET.[3]

It is interesting that within the body of this 1927 YMCA brochure the circumstance of being a "Negro" is referred to twice as a handicap to be overcome. The YMCA was also active in the area of literacy. One of its more aggressive programs relied heavily on volunteers to give back to their own communities. Through a 1930s program called The Three R League, volunteer literacy instructors were asked to make the following pledge: "I promise to teach one or more illiterates a year the rudiments of Reading, Writing and Arithmetic as part of a Five Year Program of the Three R League of the Young Men's Christian Associations."[4]

Another prominent push to educate the African American adult was headed by the Institute on Adult Education of Negroes. It was jointly sponsored by the U. S. Office of Education with the Cooperation of the American Association for Adult Education and the National Conference on Adult Education and the Negro with the financial assistance of the Carnegie Corporation of New York and occurred in reaction to the 1940 Census which revealed that 3 million Negroes, one quarter of the Negro population, were functionally illiterate. A study based on the Census report set forth how functional illiteracy affected the Negro race:

> (1) limited and warped personality development; (2) high morbidity and death rates; (3) occupational inefficiency and limitations; (4) ineffective citizenship; (5) unwholesome and disorganized home and family life; and (6) general social and economic maladjustments.[5]

A surprising revelation found in the data was that Black educators shared similar opinions on the condition of African Americans. The prominent educator, Ambrose Caliver, the head of the Project for the Special Education of Negroes, which was funded by the Carnegie Corporation in cooperation with the United States Office of Education, was considered an education specialist in matters related to the higher education of African Americans. He was vocal in placing partial liability on Blacks for their current impoverished circumstances. Caliver believed, as did Washington and Carver, and other leading African American educators that their people should pull themselves up by their bootstraps. Caliver believed that Blacks had been severely corrupted by their experiences in slavery:

> The attitude of Negroes toward work has been greatly colored by his experiences during slavery. Forced to act as a beast of burden and to toil ceaselessly from dawn to dusk at hard physical labor, he has attached an opprobrium to all manual work, even after the conditions producing this "complex" have ceased to exist.[6]

Across many national programs, such as the YMCA and church programs, and government programs, such as the Work Projects Administration (WPA), it was professed that any education for the Blacks should include certain principles in order to counteract this programmed laziness. Such beliefs are reflected in a 1938 document from Miner's College which stated that some of the most important points to be remembered when dealing with Black students was a need to use "rigid discipline" and to attempt to instill in them a sense of responsibility for the "reputation of the race."

It was also well accepted that this education needed to center on several areas. Routinely these foci included any combination of the following areas: home life, vocations, citizenship, leisure, health, and ethics and morals. The necessity for concentration on these designated areas was explained in a 1934 report on the status of Georgia Negroes:

> A. Home life -- primitive housing conditions, congestion, lack of comfort or beauty, primitive child-bearing and rearing, abject poverty, and sordidness, entire family generally at work -- long hours & backbreaking toil.
>
> B. Vocations -- Most adults are farm laborers, sharecroppers or domestic servants...limited vocational choice.
>
> C. Citizenship -- use of ballot prohibited...
>
> D. Leisure -- Not much of any kind to be enjoyed except at "laying by" time.
>
> E. Health -- high mortality rates, poor food and housing, exposure...No hospitals or clinics.
>
> F. Ethics and morals -- Fundamentalism and hysterical sentimentalism...primitive moral codes.[7]

However, what is particularly interesting is that evidence exists that the "man on the street," the everyday African American, believed herself/himself to be in need of re-education in order that they might pull themselves up. The Annual Report of the Director 1938-1939 of the American Association for Adult Education reasoned that the sales of their booklets in the Black community were so successful because Blacks believed and readily accepted the messages contained in the booklets.

The theme, Education for Cultural Survival, is defined by its historical context. By 1920 African Americans were only fifty-five years away from enslavement and thought of themselves as a contained cultural group that needed to establish a united effort to prosper in a country that granted them full citizenship only after a three hundred year wait. Amidst an environment of the Black press, thriving periodical publications, an organized club, and church denominations (The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, African Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Baptist Church), a powerful and sustained discourse thrived about the status of the "Negro." It was noted in one periodical series produced by the National Council of The Young Men's Christian Associations (YMCA) called "The Ninth Man," that one in every ten American males was a Black man. Moreover, the reasoning was that since African Americans represented such a significant force that their survival was inter-dependent to the survival of America. The popular pamphlet series addressed the issue thusly:

Table 3. Education for Cultural Survival

Title	Journal	Date
Three Elements of African Culture -- Gordan Hannock	Journal of Negro History	1923
The Negro in Dramatic Art -- George Grant	Journal of Negro History	1932
Forty Jamaican Proverbs: Interpretations and Inferences -- Kenneth Crooks	Journal of Negro History	1933
A Plea for World Culture -- Mason Hawkins	Journal of Negro History	1934
The Education of the Negro with Respect to His Background -- Herman Dreer	Journal of Negro History	1934
The Negro in Spanish Literature – Valaurex Spratlin	Journal of Negro History	1934
Negro Musicians and Their Music – Lucy Smith	Journal of Negro History	1935
Negro History in Thirteen Plays -- Willis Richardson & May Miller	Journal of Negro History	1936
Peasant Songs and Dances of Norther Haiti -- George Simpson	Journal of Negro History	1940
The Irua Ceremony Among the Kikuyu of Kiambu District, Kenya -- Ralph Bunche	Journal of Negro History	1941
African Life and Ideals – Nyabongo	Journal of Negro History	1941
Some Haitian Proverbs Considered or The Wisdom of the Haitian Peasant -- James Ivy	Journal of Negro History	1941
Four Problems in the History of Negro Art -- James Porter	Journal of Negro History	1942
Negro Culture in Two Continents -- A General Discussion	Journal of Negro History	1942
Manuscript Materials Bearing on the Negro in British Archives -- Ruth Fisher	Journal of Negro History	1942
Manuscript Materials Bearing on the Negro in America -- Arnett Lindsay	Journal of Negro History	1942
Profane Songs of the Haitian People -- Harold Courlander	Journal of Negro History	1942
The Negro Folksong in the American Culture -- Ruth Gillum	Journal of Negro Education	1943
The Philology of Negro Dialect -- Earl Conrad	Journal of Negro Education	1944
Adult Education in Public Libraries and Museums – Dorothy Williams	Journal of Negro Education	1945
The Little Theater Movement as Adult Education -- Anne Cooke	Journal of Negro Education	1945

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The Impact of African Music Upon the Western Hemisphere -- Mildred Jenkins	Journal of Negro Education	1945
A Sidelight on Edmonia Lewis (Artist) -- Benjamin Quarles	Journal of Negro History	1945

> One out of every nine men in the United States is a colored man. With his destiny the fate of others is intertwined. All nine rise or fall together. What manner of person is this ninth man? He came to this country with the early settlers, and to his labor may be credited an important share in its development and growth. He has served his country with ungrudging loyalty at every call to arms. As a citizen, he has made distinguished progress under severe and acknowledged handicaps. Only 62 years removed from slavery, he has reduced his illiteracy to 22.9% and his mortality from 24.2% in 1910 to 19.4% in 1920. His group has produced more than one composer whose works, judged solely on their merit, have won international recognition; a singer of international fame; a distinguished biologist; a novelist of great power; a scientific agriculturist whose original discoveries have attracted nation-wide attention; a leading American critic and anthologist; and one of the world's greatest industrial educators.[8]

Additionally, survival was conceptualized in terms of economic, spiritual, and physical survival. Economic survival is most often discussed and focused on in the educational programs of this time period of 1920-1945. Overall, the masses of freed people were economically disadvantaged when compared to other segments of society (Franklin, 1963). A great deal of energy was consumed attempting to find employment that paid a living wage. Usually economic survival was tied to physical survival. However, there was another dimension to physical survival. During this tumultuous time in America the Ku Klux Klan and the Regulators were patrolling many American states in an effort to keep African Americans "in their place" as defined by White supremacists. Infamous for their night rides, cross and property burnings, and mob justice, such groups posed a physical threat to Blacks. Entire families, including, men, women, and children were driven out and lynched for alleged offenses, such as being impudent, appearing lascivious, or encroaching on territory or rights that it was believed belonged only to White citizens (Sitkoff, 1978). The third type of survival, spiritual survival, is referred to often in the literature regarding this time period, but it was meagerly supported in this archival data. Christianity as the dominant religion of the slave masters became the religion of the former slaves. Routinely Black ministers addressed the congregation about remaining "righteous" in the face of inhumane conditions and treatment. In songs and in literature of the time, depictions of the falsely accused and long-suffering Black are typical: "Nobody knows the trouble I've seen. Nobody knows but Jesus." Black denominations, in particular, were at the forefront of organized educational activities for their adult congregants.

Another aspect of education for cultural survival dealt with feeling a sense of pride in the accomplishments of the racial group and in its cultural norms, folkways, and mores. A concerted effort by indigenous anthropologists began in the early 1900s to preserve the narratives, poems, songs, and artifacts of African American people. The Associates in Negro Folk Education illustrates one prime example of such efforts. In 1934, they prepared a project for the preparation of materials on Negro History, Life, and Culture for the use of adult education groups for submission to the American Association for Adult Education. The endeavor was undertaken at the suggestion of Alain Locke, a prominent adult educator and Howard University professor, who would later become the first African American president of the American Association for Adult Education. Locke's survey report on the world of the Harlem and Atlanta projects in Negro Adult Education was influential in the creatively artistic heyday of the Harlem Renaissance. He set forth several goals, including

> 1. To publish nine or ten syllabi outline or study booklets as authorized by the grant.
> 2. To influence a constructive program and policy with respect to the extension of adult education work and opportunities among Negroes, and to stimulate the study of Negro Life and Culture by adult education groups in general.[9]

His general conclusions were summative in nature and directly spoke to a readiness in the African American community to embrace and honor the culture formed in this adopted land. In 1934 Locke wrote:

> There is a special need, and it would seem, a special response, if the experience of these two projects is typical. In addition to the general value of an adult education program, and reinforcing it, these racially organized programs have contributed something very needed in the average Negro community - a constructive, educative and non-propagandist channel of expression for their racial feelings and

> interests...Second, while racial interests and problems have been found to be the items on these programs receiving the most enthusiastic and sustained response, and are thus to be recommended as the most effective motivation for programs of adult study in Negro communities, both programs at Harlem and Atlanta have wisely incorporated a considerable, in fact a larger number of general items and subjects...It is amazing to discover how seldom these natural and inevitable interests are catered to for Negro adults upon the intellectual and informational plane since the general tone of the press, pulpit and informal discussion is yet so lamentably emotional and propagandist.[10]

Locke, the consummate adult educator, set forth strategies and curricula recommendations. Foremost among his suggestions was the need to develop special materials on popular subjects that were of special interests to adult Blacks. In response to his advice, the Washington, D.C. based Associates in Negro Folk Education organized an independent project "for the use of adult education groups on Negro life, history, and culture." Sponsored by a $5,250 grant from the Carnegie Corporation through the American Association of Adult Education, the famous "Bronze Booklets" included the following topics: Negro Art: Past and Present; Experiments in Negro Adult Education; The Negro in American Fiction, Negro Drama and Poetry; and An Outline of Negro History and Achievement.

Another ground breaking enterprise advocated by Locke was a Harlem based effort that began with the very favorable start of some years of extension work by the 135th Street Branch Library. These programs became significant components of informal adult education programs. This, along with the possession of the Schomburg Collection of books, prints, documents, and association items dealing with Negro life in America, Africa, and The West Indies gave the center unusual prestige. Several successful activities emerged from this setting: a summer art workshop for adults and children; a discussion forum which examined economic, political, current news, race problems, and race history subjects; community choruses that combined formal training with leisure learning; and courses and lectures in Negro History conducted occasionally by Schomburg.

A new and popular aspect of cultural survival was the popularity of the emerging cinema. Centered in Harlem, the heart of the African American cultural center, art workshops presented documentaries like the 1935, "A Study of Negro Artists." Other similar programs and papers that were presented in a lecture forum for adults using film and visual aids were presented in the 1920s at Howard University and the Schomburg. The titles included: The Negro as a Soldier in the Civilization of America, Black Folk as They Have Been Portrayed in Representative American Art - Sculpture and Painting, and the Negro Buccaneers on the American Seas.

An important site for adult education for cultural survival was the YMCA. A national organization with a somewhat standardized curricula; the YMCA was a major sponsor of adult education programs for African Americans. The YMCA facilities were segregated along racial lines and certainly the programs were always segregated when housed in the same building. Major cities that were multi-ethnic sequestered along Black, Asian, and White racial lines with corresponding programs. The programs at the YMCAs that had to receive the approval of White administrators often included a pacifying dose of assimilation within their content. For example, the following program speaks to making the "Negro" home into a typical American household:

> Discussion centered principally about how it might be possible with the facilities of the Y. M. C. A. to stimulate an interest in and appreciation of art in this committee. It was suggested that in order to do this the committee might at its next meeting more definitely plan public exhibits, lectures, and other activities which will tend to encourage aspiring young artists to work for an art scholarship fund and stimulate the general understanding of art and the public. The Committee also stressed the point that a part of this work should be to explain the beauty of life about us. Efforts along this line would end to amplify beauty to be found in our homes and such items as rugs and paintings and in fact in all corners of our community life.[11]

From the 1930s forward, the YMCA and government sponsored programs began to include an element of racial pride in the accomplishments of African Americans. In 1937, a WPA Adult Education Program examined "The role of the Negro in Shaping America" and how "The Negro Saved the Union."

Other aspects of Education for Cultural Survival as they pertain to physical and spiritual survival were harder to identify and support with data since they were represented more on the community level than on the national level. For example, the anti-lynching campaigns discussing the political context of mob violence, which worked on the local levels to effect change through local law enforcement officials in conjunction with the White women's and Black women's club organizations, are documented primarily in city newspapers and through local church and civic organizations. The educational programs that addressed spiritual growth included combination

Bible study and literacy classes and are referenced in the literature and archival data as being abundant in occurrence among Black churches, but few existing church programs were found in the archives examined.

Education for Resistance

It is important to note that resistance in the context of this study occurred in 1920-1945 and does not resemble the resistance of racial groups of the Twenty-First Century. Resistance as found and used in the African American educational programs analyzed can best be viewed as preparatory steps that were necessary to today's concept of judicious defiance. This concept is easily evidenced in a 1940s quote from Howard University Professor, Rayford W. Logan who outlined the needs of minority groups at the third annual Conference on Adult Education and the Negro. He declared

> The problems of no one minority race will be settled permanently until the problem of all of them are solved. The first need of minorities in this crisis...is to determine as accurately as possible how much they must surrender temporarily in order to preserve the balance and prepare for future gains...A Third (sic) need is the realization by all minorities that no one of them can obtain permanent security so long as any other minority is held down. Indeed I am not sure which is the greater tragedy, the opposition of minorities by majorities or the oppression of one minority by another...The need of the Negro in this crisis is obvious. But from all parts of the country [there are] reports of the denial to Negroes of the opportunity to work. In order to prevent this wholesale discrimination, we must first collect evidence to show that qualified Negroes have been denied the opportunity to work. We must next demand the passage of legislation as the result of evidence laid before Congress and perhaps even a Congressional investigating committee. Adult education will play an important role in assisting the Negro in discriminating between propaganda, truth, and subversive information.[12]

Table 4. Education for Resistance

Title	Journal	Date
The Aftermath of Nat Turner's Insurrection -- John Cromwell	Journal of Negro History	1920
Canadian Negroes and the John Brown Raid -- Fred Landon	Journal of Negro History	1921
Christianity and the Race Problem	Journal of Negro History	1931
Education and Work - W.E.B.DuBois	Journal of Negro Education	1932
Does the Negro Need Separate Schools - W.E.B.DuBois	Journal of Negro Education	1935
The Dilemma of Segregation -- Alain Locke	Journal of Negro Education	1935
American Slave Insurrections Before 1861 -- Harvey Wish	Journal of Negro History	1937
Education for Citizenship in a Democracy -- Charles Wesley	Journal of Negro Education	1941
The Negro Church as an Organ of Protest -- Jerome H. Holland	Journal of Negro Education	1942
Day to Day Resistance to Slavery -- Raymond Bauer & Alice Bauer	Journal of Negro History	1942
Combating Discrimination in the Employment of Negroes in War Industries and Government Agencies -- Leon Ransom	Journal of Negro Education	1943
Gourds and Castanets: The African Finger in Modern Spain and Latin America -- Charles Lancaster	Journal of Negro History	1943
Citizenship Training -- A Neglected Area in Adult Education -- Luther Jackson	Journal of Negro Education	1945

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Adult Education and the Improvement of Race Relations -- L. D. Reddic	Journal of Negro Education	1945
The Negro's Struggle for Participation for Freedom in its Birthplace -- Charles Wesley	Journal of Negro History	1945

Considering the words of Logan in the historical context of the time, it is evident that his speech is a theoretical call to arms that lays out a plan for peaceful struggle against an unjust system. Words such as these more commonly occur in the data from collegiate and community leaders near the later part of the time period studied. This reinforces them as definite precedents to the stirring Civil Rights speeches that would move a nation to end legally sanctioned Jim Crow in less than twenty years.

Another famous contemporary of Logan's and a proponent of subtle resistance was Rufus Ballard Atwood, the president of Kentucky State Industrial College for Colored Persons. He placed great emphasis on the need to formally educate adult African Americans beyond the basics of reading and writing for survival. Although he often presented his ideas ensconced in the rhetoric of assimilation and cultural survival, his crucial message was that striving for the intellectual higher ground would set the race on a path towards equality. He stated the following in his speech, Public Sentiment Toward the Education of Negroes:

> It is clear at first sight that the attitudes toward the education of Negroes are not generally favorable. There is, of course, variation from state to state and often from district to district with these units, still the laws, policies and expression of public servants, together with the voice of the press indicate attitudes usually hostile or generally indifferent. In preliminary studies which have been made in some areas of the Negro in the public press, it has been found that 500 times as much crime news featuring Negroes appears than does material which may be classified as educational. One reflection of such sentiments is found in the inadequate financial support furnished institutions for the education of the Negro.
>
> One method of attack is to work toward the repeal of unwise laws and the enactment of more adequate and just measures. This, it is understood, is easier said than done, for the active participation of Negroes in politics is slight and those persons whose duty it is to legislate for the people are more often hostile or indifferent. The task however is not hopeless...
>
> Those interested in the education of Negroes must know the law and must become articulate when the interpretation and administration of such laws are not beneficial...
>
> As for the attitudes of the public press, efforts should be directed through the owners, editors, influential citizens, and readers of these periodicals -- especially the Negro readers -- toward securing an increase in the quantity as well as quality of items which may be classified as a positive nature...but until Negroes do exert themselves through the ballot and the other techniques of political and economic activity, the strongest pressure which may be brought against hostile or indifferent attitudes is a plea. And too well do we know that begging for consideration has proved one of the most ineffective levers toward the placing of education of Negroes in its proper place.[13]

Atwood is clearly presenting a rationale for working towards desegregation by building a power base, but he makes this proposal in an indirect manner. Implicit in this plan is political autonomy and self-governance. Ultimately the African Americans of the day would benefit from economic benefits, educational benefits, and social benefits. Even though Atwood does not directly imply that integration is his goal, it is evident that the changes for which he is calling will revolutionize America and set the African American on a new role to economic and social equality.

More direct examples of resistance in education are seen in the Youth Movement of the late 1930s. The All-Southern Negro Youth Conferences held in 1939 and 1940 set forth the issues of economic status, citizenship rights, voting, anti-lynching legislation, and equality in educational opportunities. While the participants in these camps would be viewed as young adults, they are included in this data as adults since the areas that they concerned themselves with focused on their future rights as African American adults. They succinctly expressed their interests:

> As an organization we stand on the best traditions of the nation. *We believe in democracy. We are dedicated to the realization of democracy.* As we see it democracy means to be able to *vote, to be free from the threat of mob violence, to be able to get a job and work, to have adequate educational facilities.* Can any *real democrat object to this program?* Let us in the fourth All-Southern and Negro Youth Conference further the organization of our movement among Negro young people in the South. Through

extending the organization of the Congress we will be able to enlist thousands of our people to vote during the next twelve months and thus come closer to achieving democracy in the South.[14]

Summary

The three themes of education for assimilation, education for cultural survival, and education for resistance were maintained across both sets of data which included the searches of *The Journal of Negro History* and *The Journal of Negro Education;* and the searches of archival data from the Schomburg, the Moorland-Spingarn, and the Hollis Burke Frissell sites. The themes seem endemic of African American existence during the time period of 1920-1945. Indeed the themes appear invariably in contemporary educational literature on African Americans in Adult Education. Johnson-Bailey and Cervero (2000) present the color blind, multicultural, and social justice perspectives as themes that have been evident relative to African Americans in Adult Education throughout the field's history. These perspectives are compatible with assimilation, cultural survival, and resistance, respectively. It is further noted that these issues are present in the K-12 educational literature (Banks, 1997).

Cultural assimilation as it appears in the data clearly posits the intent to build on the present societal situations by simply incorporating the new African American citizens into the fold. Implicitly embedded in the idea of cultural assimilation is the requirement that they relinquish any markers of their former culture that do not service their new membership. Of course, their new affiliation is a dressed-up version of their old slave status. According to education for assimilation, African Americans are to be trained for menial and laborious work. Furthermore, their education is to be confined to basic literacy, elementary mechanical skills, and the rudimentary elements of service work. Programs, such as the YMCA's, directly chastised "Negroes" to be "alert," work hard, and rise above the "handicap" of their race. They told White America and African Americans that the unfortunate plight of their race, lower class economic status, low educational attainment, high illiteracy rate, and high morbidity were the result of laziness and poor choices. In a sense, the former slaves and their descendants were being told that their three hundred year unfortunate enslavement and its resulting consequences no longer mattered. If they were not currently succeeding, they were to blame. No responsibility was placed on the advantaged White citizenry that had enslaved or benefited from their enslavement. As Lipitiz (1998) writes:

> Because American society has not acknowledged the ways in which we have created a possessive investment in whiteness, the disadvantages of racial minorities may seem unrelated to the advantages given to whites. Minority disadvantages are said to stem from innate deficiencies, rather than from systematic disenfranchisement and discrimination. (p. 24)

Education for assimilation sought to reinforce the already low status of African Americans and insure their continued support position or at best extend their subordinate station. As Woodson (1933/1990) has stated, such mis-education disempowers

> If you can control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his action. When you determine what a man shall think you do not have to concern yourself about what he will do. If you make a man feel that he is inferior, you do not have to compel him to accept an inferior status, for he will seek it himself. If you make a man think that he is justly an outcast, you do not have to order him to the back door. He will go without being told; and if there is not a back door, his very nature will demand one. (p. 84)

Keeping African Americans submissive was required in order to maintain control. Freire (2000) explains:

> It is necessary for the oppressors to approach the people in order via subjugation, to keep them passive. This approximation, however does not involve being with the people, or require true communication. It is accomplished by the oppressor's depositing myths indispensable to the preservation of the status quo: for example, the myth that the oppressive order is a "free society"; the myth that all persons are free to work where they wish...the myth that this order respects human rights and is therefore worthy of esteem; the myth that anyone who is industrious can become an entrepreneur... (p. 120)

Therefore, education for assimilation is invested in continuing the old under the guise of a new system and new unlimited opportunities for those willing to rise above their circumstances and work to reach the carrot that is always beyond their reach.

Education for cultural survival, the second theme to emerge from the data, embodies the knowledge that the African Americans of the time period studied were a distinct cultural group who had endured much and survived with a new culture that had distinct mores and folkways. The proponents of this perspective celebrate the literature, music, food, art, and existence of African American people in America as a triumph. Viewing themselves as a separate cultural group is strongly confirmed throughout the data. Perhaps one of the most salient affirmations

of this conviction is affirmed by the Negro National Anthem, which was composed and found prominence during this time period. It was observed in the archival data that many of the adult education programs began with the singing of the Negro National Anthem. The song lyrics are taken from a poem by James Weldon Johnson and make explicit that the Negro experience has been a different one. The themes of survival, struggle, and resistance are apparent in the song's first stanza:

> Lift e'vry voice and sing
> 'Till earth and heaven ring
> Ring with the harmonies of Liberty.
> Let our rejoicing rise
> High as the listening skies,
> Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.
> Sing a song full of the faith that the
> dark past has taught us.
> Sing a song full of the hope that the
> present has brought us.
> Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,
> Let us march on 'till Victory is won.

Scholars of the day, who were advocates of education for cultural survival, such as Alain Locke, Arturo Schomburg, Nannie Burroughs, Ira Reid, and Sterling Brown, all believed that it was essential to preserve the culture. The protection of the culture included teaching it to those who were not acquainted with its scope and recording it for future generations. The data was filled with examples of education for cultural survival that focused on keeping the essence of the culture alive. The Negro Folk Education Project, the Negro As Artist, and the Bronze Booklets are prominent examples of education for cultural survival. Others who worked toward the survival of the cultural group placed their emphasis on economic and physical survival of the individual and the group. These adult education leaders included Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver. Overall this theme ranked second in its occurrence in the data, after education for assimilation.

The third and final theme, education for resistance, carries the most appeal in this contemporary setting where the social justice perspective is currently finding voice and favor in the field (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 2000). Encompassing the ideas of W.E.B. DuBois and Rufus Atwood, who spoke to the issue during the 1920-1945 time period, education for resistance was most infrequent. Yet it has appeal because of its applicability to the modern context of the African American. And it has additional allure given the bravery that it took in the setting of the early 1900s to speak these words:

> The silently growing assumption of this age is that the probation of races is past, and that the backward races of to-day are of proven inefficiency and not worth having. Such an assumption is the arrogance of peoples irreverent toward Time and ignorant of the deeds of man...Two thousand years ago such dogmatism, would have readily welcomed, would have scouted the idea of blond races ever leading civilization. So woefully unorganized is sociological knowledge that the meaning of progress, the meaning of "swift" and "slow" in human doing, the limits of human perfectibility, are veiled, unanswered sphinxes on the shores of science...Your country? How came it yours? Before the Pilgrims landed we were here. Here we have brought our three gifts and mingled them with yours: a gift of story and song -- soft, stirring melody in an ill-harmonized and unmelodious land; the gift of sweat and brawn to beat back the wilderness, conquer the soil, and lay the foundations of this vast economic empire two hundred years earlier than your weak hands could have done it; the third, a gift of the Spirit. Around us the history of the land has centered for thrice a hundred years; out of the nation's heart we have called all that was best to throttle and subdue all that was worst; fire and blood, prayer and sacrifice, have billowed over this people and they have found peace only in the altars of the God of Right. Nor has our gift of the Spirit been merely passive. Actively we have woven ourselves with the very warp and woof of this nation, -- we fought their battle, shared their sorrow, mingled our blood with theirs, and generation after generation have pleaded with a headstrong, careless people to despise not Justice, Mercy, and Truth, lest the nation be smitten with a curse. Our song, our toil, our cheer, and warning have been given to this nation in blood-brotherhood. Are not these gifts worth the giving? Is not this work and striving? Would America have been America without her Negro people? (DuBois, 1953, p.189).

Programs that centered on resistance were more commonly sponsored on the local level and according to the data studied were always self-sponsored by African Americans for African Americans. Typical programs that used education for resistance as their basis were citizenship programs that encouraged the new Black citizens to vote and run for public office and programs that promoted higher education and scholarly training over vocational training. This topic was critiqued in a 1945 speech by John W. Davis, President of West Virginia State College, who went beyond calling for the social literacy that Locke and later Freire advocated. Davis challenged America to end specialized and inferior training for African Americans and to replace it with liberatory education that would empower African Americans to think for themselves and to control their individual and group life paths. Davis said that the education of African Americans, "...is one of compromise and denial of freedom. Its educational background shows in bold relief a system of Negro education designed to offset the functional effectiveness of the three amendments to the Constitution of the United States..." Davis also charged that the world was watching

> America as she attempts to relieve the heavy heart of common men here at home. This audience wants to know whether America possesses the intelligence and statesmanship to handle her inconsistencies and paradoxes in a way to bring about world peace, harmony and understanding among men. In this audience are: 450 million yellow people of China, 360 million brown people of India, 100 million brown people of the Philippines, 120 million Latin-Americans of Negro and Indian blood, 200 million black people of Africa.[15]

Therefore, advocates for education for resistance appealed and in some instances demanded an equitable education that would provide access and opportunity of training to African Americans and that would eventually lead to their full participation as persons of equal ability and background and would therefore result in the overthrow of the segregated American society.

Discussion

This study sought to answer six questions. The following section will discuss the results of the study.

What was the extent of the organizational effort?

The research revealed that in the period of 1920-1945 the African American segregated society had an extensive understanding of adult education and viewed it as integral to the existence of their cultural group. It is reasoned that this understanding and attitude towards adult education was based on two points. First, African American adults in this time period were the children of peoples who had been enslaved. A large majority of them had never received formal education. Therefore, the African American adult populace was in need of education. Second, African Americans as a group perceived themselves as a cohesive assembly. More so than in any other time in history, with the one possible exception being the Civil Rights Movement, African Americans sustained a national dialogue on group needs. The newspapers, periodicals, and programs of national organizations analyzed in this study were replete with articles entitled, "What the Negro Needs to Know," and "What the Negro Thinks." Analysis showed that education, along with economic issues, was a constant priority for the group.

With the idea of education in general and adult education specifically, the extent of the organizational effort was broad and sustained over the period of time studied. The programs included National YMCA programs; federally funded programs through the Office of Education, which housed the Institute on Adult Education of Negroes; privately funded endeavors such as the Associates in Negro Folk Education, funded by the Carnegie Foundation; state and local enterprises funded by the Phelps-Stokes Foundation and the Eastman (of Eastman-Kodak) Foundation; and national clubs and sororities; local and church programs; and higher education programs such as the Hampton-Tuskegee summer programs sponsored by the Hampton-Tuskegee Endowment Fund.

What Were the Agendas of These Programs?

The agendas of the programs are indicated by the themes that emerged in the data: cultural assimilation, cultural survival, and resistance. The agendas of the programs varied with the intent and sponsorship of the programs. The most frequently observed of the three agenda initiatives was cultural assimilation. Under this conception, students were instructed on how to fit into American society (White). Subjects for instruction included body hygiene, speaking, proper English, running a household, literacy education, and how to be a good worker. The agenda of these types of programs was to reproduce the status quo; to breed subservient workers who would strive

more earnestly and enjoy the process. A myriad of incentives were offered as to why assimilating into American society was the only practical alternative. The most popular reasons were that other immigrant groups had made the successful transition and that the process benefited the individual, the group, and especially American White society.

Programs that had a perspective based on education for cultural survival had as their agenda the preservation of a well-defined African American culture. The efforts were most often literary or artistic representations of African American history portrayed in a positive light. In addition, the endeavors routinely conveyed information that was excluded from traditional knowledge sources. For example, telling the involvement of African Americans in the settling of the United States and the involvement of African Americans in exploration and warfare were popular subjects. Therefore, the unexpressed agenda of the educational for cultural survival efforts was to instill pride in cultural group membership, to preserve the culture, and to replace the negative messages about the culture with positive and accurate information.

The aim or agenda of education for resistance does not have to be surmised from the data since it is clearly stated in the discourse of the programs and curricula: the purpose or intent is to change America and to work towards equity for African Americans. Educational programs focused on instructing African Americans in the use of political and economic power. This was very evident in the young adult Youth camps that taught democratic rights and responsibilities as a way of instilling a desire for full citizenship participation.

Whose Interests Were Served by the Programs?

There is no simple answer to whose interests were served by the program. Most often, the answer for programs that used education for assimilation as their basis is that the needs of the White majority were being served. However, in considering the historical context and situation of an under-educated and socio-economically deprived African American populace, the answer must also be that African Americans were also served. The programs that by today's standards seem demeaning and dis-empowering did fulfill a need: they taught skills to the unskilled and under-employed. As Freire (2000) posits, the master's hands were ever present and his interest tantamount. Programs conducted for cultural survival and resistance primarily served Blacks.

What Curricula Were Used?

Again the curricula was determined by the agenda of the educational programs and by the needs of the participants being served. On occasion, the national or state office of the organization mandated the curricula. Most often, the curricula were established locally and were context-specific. Overall, the emphasis for adult education programs in the six areas of curricula set forth in the 1934 Report on the Status of Georgia Negroes remained constant across the data. They were vocational training, citizenship training, health instruction, ethics and morals for leadership, home life guidance and civic responsibility, including religious training. The actual instructional methods varied depending on the competency levels of the participants and the agenda of the programs. In discussing education for assimilation, Bible reading provides a reliable example. If the members of a Bible study assembly were literate, then instruction consisted of reading aloud, individual interpretation, and writing. When adult students were not literate, instruction could include attempts to use the Bible as a reading primer or could entail the instructor (most often the minister or deacon) reading aloud to the group and subsequently leading the group in interpretation.

The curricula for programs that used education for cultural survival included using literature, art, film, and music as the lessons and seemed the most innovative and varied of the curricula. While reading ability was certainly not a requirement, it is acknowledge that a level of analysis seems necessary. An example of a curricula for the Negro Folk Education Project included the vocal rendition of narratives in dialect. Often containing a moral, these performances were design to teach and to entertain.

It is more difficult to define the curricula of endeavors that used education for resistance. One certain component of the curriculum was the interaction between the instructor and the participant as these programs usually ask the participants to work towards equity for African American people. I would therefore liken the curriculum for this theme to a call and response pattern of the Black Church: the leader calls on the people to affect change and the participants answer and pledge themselves to work for the cause. The anti-lynching campaign spearheaded by the newly formed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and an independent campaign led by Ida B. Wells are examples of educating for resistance. Wells used her Memphis based newspaper

and speaking engagements to teach African Americans how to use local knowledge and political consensus building with local White women's clubs to address the Southern lynching myths of mob rule and grassroots justice. Her work offers an exemplary case of using an informal educational process to affect change.

Who Were the Participants, Educators, Directors, and Sponsors of These Programs?

The archival data showed that a full range of people from the African American community participated in adult education programs. The hearty participation was characteristic of a populace that was zealous to embrace what had been legally withheld from them -- an education. According to the holdings examined, programs were specifically designed to consider the needs of urban, rural, illiterate, unskilled, and educated African Americans. The data from all three archives indicate that participation was robust and that adult education programs were popular with participants of all socio-economic and educational levels. While most of the participants were African Americans, there were Whites who attended the programs, especially the historical and literary based programs common to education for cultural survival.

The educators tended to be African Americans. However, there were White instructors in the YMCA programs. Customs of the day and legal sanctions discouraged working across racial lines when intimate and sustained contact was required. For example, Jeanes educators in the rural Southern programs would often have to stay in the homes of community leaders, as there were few hotels to accommodate these traveling instructors.

Directors and sponsors of the programs were usually White or African Americans appointed by and closely controlled by Whites. The government sponsored large national adult education programs through the WPA, the United States Office of Education and through grants to the American Association for Adult Education. Private sponsors of adult education programs are particularly fascinating. Two characteristic examples are industrialist George Eastman and philanthropist Caroline Phelps-Stokes. Eastman, who gave generously to the Hampton-Tuskegee Endowment, put conditions on his giving. With his endorsement of the Hampton-Tuskegee idea, he made plain that his contributions of two million dollars were to be used to educate for the purposes of assimilation and that he expected an economic return in the form of better trained Negro workers. He expressed these sentiments in a 1925 Hampton-Tuskegee Endowment brochure:

> The only hope of the Negro race and the settlement of this problem is through proper education of the Hampton-Tuskegee type, which is directed toward making them useful citizens through education on industrial lines. These two institutions are no longer experiments. Through many years of trial they have proved their ability to turn out men and women who, for the most part, go back to their homes and serve as centers of influence for better living.[16]

Phelps-Stokes bequeathed an eight hundred thousand dollar trust for the "erection or improvement of old tenement house dwellings in New York City for the poor families of New York City and for educational purposes in the education of Negroes both in Africa and the United States, North American Indians, and needy and deserving White citizens."[17] Her fund, established in 1910, was managed by a board of trustees and used prominent Black educators like Booker T. Washington and Hollis Burke Frissell as advisors. This fund became a reliable source for adult education programs that had a cultural survival theme. Appropriations were routinely given to the Jeanes Fund, Tuskegee Institute, and local and state programs that were identified through a competitive application process. Using a social justice perspective, the board of trustees maintained a liberal presence throughout the time period being studied electing its first African American board president in 1946.

Why Did They Participate?

Adults who participated in the programs described varied and are subject to interpretation as their reasons are conveyed through secondary data sources. For the most part, it is the administrators and educators who are reporting on participation. It is stated throughout the data that participation was enthusiastic and that participants benefited and enjoyed the classes and programs. This was deduced mainly from high enrollment numbers, classroom participation, and the sustained growth of adult education classes and programs. It is also set forth that African Americans participated because they had a significant need for the instruction offered and that this need was based on individual agency and a sense of group urgency to uplift the race.

In summary, the answers to these six questions paint a story of a united adult education effort among "Negroes" that reached its height in the 1940s. In my opinion, the legally sanctioned segregation of the time period and the desperate circumstances of African American people were responsible for fostering a receptive and growing

environment for adult education within the African American communities. I believe that the death knell to a vigorous adult education program among African Americans was sounded by integration. Laws, passed in the 1950s and 1960s, provided a deceptive environment of access and opportunity and by appearing to assure African Americans of equity in employment, education, and housing made adult education for African Americans a less urgent issue. In addition, integration destroyed a vital component of the African American community -- a visible leadership and role model structure that trained future community members and provided culture-specific understandings and solutions. Without this base, which was abandoned for the greener pastures of the White communities improved facilities, full coffers, and extensive opportunities, the identity held by Blacks that they were a distinct and inter-dependent community eroded significantly.

Impact

As an adult education professor, I routinely challenge my students to add new information to the knowledge base of the field and to be ever cognizant of the hegemonic forces at play in the research. This study addresses a gap in the literature in that it went beyond the tradition of just summarizing and reporting data and presented significant blocks of data. This allowed the reader to participate in the analysis and to feel the experience of sifting through the words of primary sources.

This study provides palatable historical evidence for understanding the contemporary status of disenfranchised groups. Unfortunately, it illuminates the position that as a field we are where we were over fifty years ago still debating and examining the chasm of racism that exists in the field and which is implicit in our classes and curricula. Overall, our programs have served to reproduce the existing disparities, with exceptions such as Highlander and isolated and dispersed community-based programs in Chicago, Washington, D.C., and Atlanta. It is my hope that in some small way this project holds a mirror to our eyes for our collective assessment of whether or not we have made a difference. As reflective practitioners, this image should provide us with a reality check of where we are in the great scheme. Do we persist in abstract discussions and debates to avoid rolling up our sleeves to do the hard work of taking risks and being change agents? Are we shackled to our offices, classrooms, and departments avoiding our communities because we make the elitist distinction of proclaiming ourselves to be educators and not practitioners?

As a field we are persistent in acknowledging our roots of democracy yet again and again Cunningham (1996) calls on the field to make good on such claims. The field remains virtually silent and non-responsive as we continue to re-access our goals and objectives for the future. However, we predictably return to the false claims of our first scholars and portray ourselves as being learner-centered and focused on fairness and equity. Our handbooks, research journals, and curricula betray this declaration (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 2000). We are focused on the concerns of the enfranchised participants and more recently on the human resource and organizational development area of Adult Education.

Faced with shrinking and disappearing Adult Education departments within the higher education arena, we must examine our line of defense and make plans to regenerate. How will we make these decisions? Will we only respond to the continuing education track and HROD growth areas that appear lucrative or will we also consider the fundamental mission of Adult Education -- the democratization of adults? It is hoped that this study will help to make a statement about our progress as a field relative to comprehensive societal issues.

bell hooks (1989) believes that working towards change is a relentless never ending process because power will always find a way to co-opt and dismantle changes. In order to work towards change, it seems essential to be informed by how past events play a part in present circumstances. The source book and the catalogued data from this study could provide, along with other previously mentioned resources, an audit trail for examining the political context of African American participation and African American contributions to Adult Education. In addition, this research could be an impetus for future research in the area of Adult Education among African Americans using a non-revisionist lens.

The impact of this study has been personal. I have struggled with my position in the tower and have seen myself through different eyes. My ancestors were the rural Georgians that were regarded as ignorant and deficient by Whites and by African American educators who worked as their teachers and lived amongst them as their neighbors and community leaders. The questions so eloquently posed by Woodson (1933/1990) and DuBois (1953)

is haunting: Do African American educators take on the gatekeeping responsibility and do they have negative attitudes toward their own group in an effort to find place and importance? I would ask the question: Do African American educators make a difference? Do they still practice the old cultural adage: Each one teach one?

The powerful words and images evoked by the data have inspired me to attempt to work on collecting the narratives of the participants and educators who are not represented in the selected data stored in the archives. What stories and lessons do they have to impart? Why are their voices missing and only related by others? Endeavoring to make their voices heard could be a way of ushering in powerful calls to the field and could be a way of making apparent an indisputable and terrible truth that Adult Education as a field needs to move beyond discourse and work towards empowering our learners and democratizing our member citizens.

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9. Images and Recorded Sound, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.

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11. Jessie Edward Moorland Papers, Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.

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15. Jessie Edward Moorland Papers, Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.

16. Alain Locke Paper, Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.

17. Phelps-Stokes Financial Papers, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York City Public Library.

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